

FIRE AT MIDNIGHT DESTRUCTION AT DAWN

SABOTAGE AND SOCIAL WAR



The world in which we find ourselves is enveloped by capitalist social relations. Nearly everyone has been reduced to the condition of selling themselves for a wage. All space is divided and quantified into commodities that can be bought and sold. This commodification of life has made exchange the dominant feature of our relations. The implementation of these relations was achieved through a massive project of dispossession and exclusion. States manage populations and territories through a vast network of control creating a world very much resembling that of a prison. Borders are militarized, surveillance networks surround us, the police have grown in number and are better equipped. All of this has become extremely efficient due to the advance of technology.¹ This is all justified under the ever-growing system of laws, but these changes in no way contradict the nature of the state; they are true to its form and function. The state and capital are inextricably linked in a project of domination.

We are permitted the insignificance of voting for our rulers, signing petitions, and taking part in referendums. Yet the conditions of our lives stay essentially *the same*. We can hold signs on the sidewalk and shout as loud as we want, throw-

ing ourselves into the abyss of public displays of dissatisfaction. But when all is said and done we still face the humiliation and prostitution of this reality. We are only allowed to symbolize our anger at the daily degradation that must be silently endured. Obscured within a dreamland of television, commercial consumption, and social withdrawal, the world is made slightly bearable but never one in which we can determine what we want with our lives.

For a social order so dependent on a large class of exploited and marginalized people, the possibilities for revolt are many. Not only does this system require people's labor power to function, but it also requires us to produce and maintain its physical infrastructure, enforce its laws, cooperate with and consent to its plans. Ultimately *we* allow it to exist. The state needs roads, buildings, vehicles, information technology, surveillance and weaponry systems to function. Capitalism requires these same things for efficient movement of commodities and labor, and for resource extraction and exploitation. While these mechanisms have strengthened control and exploitation like never before, they have also created many weaknesses. These weaknesses are an opportunity.

For us, the question of *how* to proceed is vital. We must be willing to examine and scrutinize the methods and strategies of the past so that we do not follow in the footsteps of history's failed attempts at revolution. To this end we will focus on a method that is as powerful as it is easy to put into practice: *sabotage*.

The World As They Would Like Us to See It

All insurrectionary tools must be examined in order for us to place them firmly within a theoretical framework for subversive action. Theory, like all ideas, is only as good as its ability to be *applied* effectively to the conditions of our lives. Only through critical analysis can we hope to sharpen our methods of struggle and avoid the mistakes and pitfalls of the past. It is important for us not to lose sight of how we determine the results of our efforts. While achieving concrete goals is important, these do not necessarily determine success. A better indication of our accomplishments could be determined by the extent to which current social relations are subverted and the qualitative changes that are realized through revolt.

Situations of revolt are not always easy to discover. The writers of history marginalize and deliberately disconnect news of resistance from a tradition of refusal. Discontent is misrepresented, pacified and moved into channels of legality, compromise, and dialogue. The media distorts the impulse for social war, deferring it to the confines of single issues, mismanagement, and individual cases of dissatisfaction. Revolt becomes a disfigured story, obscured in the past, manipulated in the present, hidden from view.

Our actions should not appeal to these machines of "reality production." The only thing that will affect the reality of things will be to *act* upon reality, not to merely *present* it as we wish it to be. The only way to change the conditions of society is to change the nature of how we relate within them. There is no fixed or static condition that we are trapped in. The future is not only unwritten but also unpredictable and therefore capable of being affected by our willful determination.

The Tools That Can Destroy the Master's House

Revolt can begin on an individual level or through the process of larger social upheaval. One of the oldest and most destructive acts of revolt is sabotage. To be clear, we define sabotage as the deliberate act of destroying or damaging physical structures. From workplace machinery sabotage to monkey-wrenching housing and industrial developments, to smashing a window at a bank, fur store or cop station, sabotage has become a common and well-dispersed instrument of social struggle. This tactic is often used to achieve a greater goal, or employed within a larger campaign or a struggle. However, the potential of destructive direct action lies in its ability to be carried out individually or in groups without any need or desire for formal organization, hierarchy, or campaign to act in unison with. Sabotage, like all tactics, should be easily reproducible, therefore increasing the possibility of its spread. This spreading threatens the structures of power *precisely* because it is difficult to manage and contain.

Sabotage can be used in all situations, in all terrains, and by anyone who wishes to use it. It requires no specialization or skill, just initiative. While news of sabotage is difficult to find, obscured and negated as it is by those in power, there are some notable examples that we would like to examine. This list is by no means comprehensive but rather a sampling of relevant examples to social struggle.

A Global Attack: Shell and the Anti-Apartheid Struggle

If you understand how the structures of capitalists are built up and how the big companies are weaving their nets closer and closer around the world, then you realize that the fight against the system has to be carried out globally. -Brand magazine

In Europe during the late 1980s, a wave of sabotage hit the Shell Oil Company because of their economic involvement with the then South African government and their policy of apartheid. Many acts of sabotage occurred in Denmark, Holland, and Sweden during the years 1986-1988. Shell stations were attacked with firebombs and paint in addition to the cutting of gasoline hoses and damage to gas tanks and cash machines. These actions were claimed by anonymous groups of people acting in solidarity with the social struggle in South Africa.

While at the time an international boycott of Shell was in affect across the world, it is interesting to note that in 1986 a spokesman for Danish Shell admitted that the boycott had not affected them much economically but that sabotage was costing them vastly larger amounts of money.²

It was clear that a global attack was taking place against one focal point of capitalist exploitation. These attacks were easy to undertake, requiring only simple tools and a will to act. This fact facilitated their spread across a wide area and far from the center of the anti-apartheid struggle. The acts of sabotage drew a clear parallel between the business done in *one* place and its direct connection to the administrative and operative functions of the project of capital in *another*.

The Bolt Weevils Attack! Power and its Opponents in Minnesota

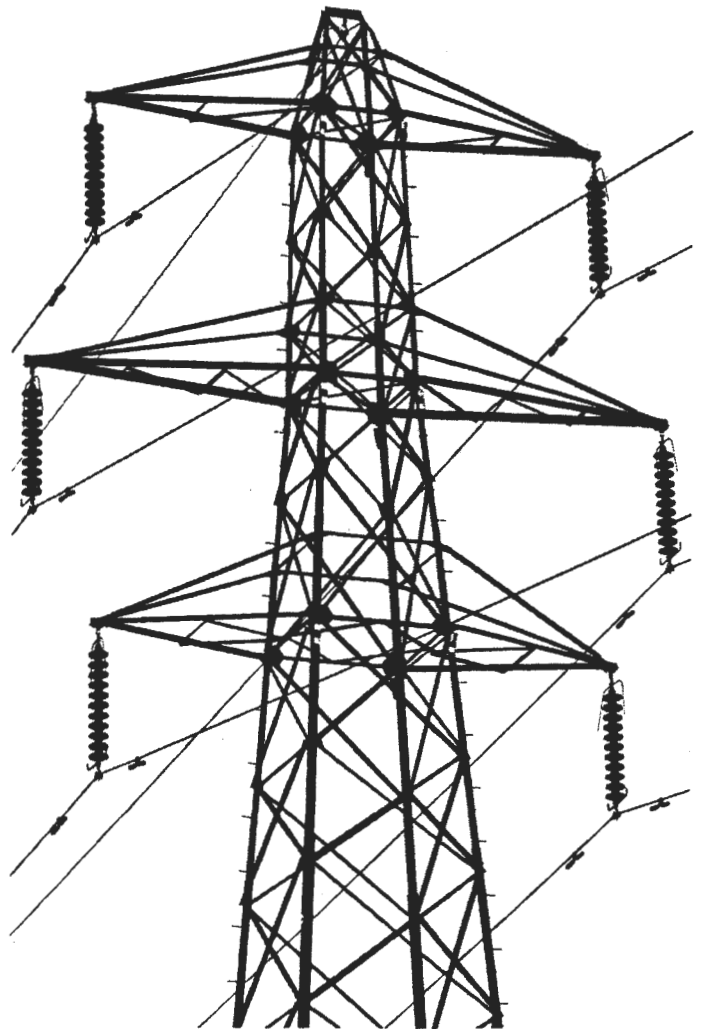
A very interesting example of dispersed sabotage occurred in western Minnesota in the late 1970s. During this time the electric industry was seeking to exploit coal reserves in the West to feed the energy demands of urban centers. One of these projects consisted of building a coal strip mine and generating plant in North Dakota, then constructing a 435 mile power line to transport the energy produced to the suburban areas around Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota.

What the energy industry and the state's regulatory agencies did not expect was the opposition that followed. Farmers along the proposed route of the power line viewed the project as sacrificing their land to feed energy-hungry urban centers. The state was planning to expropriate 160-foot-wide swaths through their fields and erect 180-foot pylons to support the wires. These concerns were augmented by the fear of health problems associated with electromagnetic pollution from the currents running through these power lines. It was clear the state had no regard for these concerns when throughout the years of 1974 to 1977 farmers in Minnesota tried lengthy and ultimately ineffectual legal channels to block the construction of the line. The result, not surprisingly, was that they were merely permitted to request that the construction happen on someone else's land.

Yet the failed dialogue with the state did enable networks to be made among those who were af-

ected by the plans. In 1977, after the state had finalized and approved these plans, surveyors and construction crews attempted to start work on the power line, but hundreds of farmers blocked their way. In the winter of 1978, confrontations in the fields spanned weeks, prompting the Governor to send almost half of Minnesota's highway patrol officers to protect the electric company crews.

Even more impressive was the wave of sabotage that hit the infrastructure of the project. In the space of two years, fourteen towers were toppled



and nearly 10,000 insulators shot out. The actions were being attributed to the "Bolt Weevils," a name used by the anonymous individuals carrying out the attacks. Electric industry officials termed it "vandalism;" the farmers called it "sabotage," a tactic that received a great deal of support from local communities.

During these years no arrests were made despite the electrical company employing private security. The police used helicopters to patrol rural areas but were unable to stop the spread of sabotage. By the summer of 1980, the energy company was forced to turn over ownership of the power line to the U.S. government in order to avoid further economic losses directly attributed to sabotage and the costs of security. While this maneuver gave jurisdiction to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it did not deter all attacks from continuing. A fifteenth tower came down on New Year's Eve of the same year.³

Despite all of their attempts, the line was finally constructed, but only with the intervention of the federal government. Yet, what can be taken from this struggle is that the people who attacked this project had learned from their experience of trying to dialogue with the state over its plans. Industrial development had taken priority over those who stood to suffer from its completion. But without retiring in defeat, a social struggle sprang forth, one that did not waste time in the channels of legality but rather *directly* attacked the source of their problem. While the fact that no arrests were ever made may be incidental, it is clear that the state was ineffectual in containing the use or spread of sabotage due to its ability to be used by anyone, anywhere, even in the fields of Minnesota.

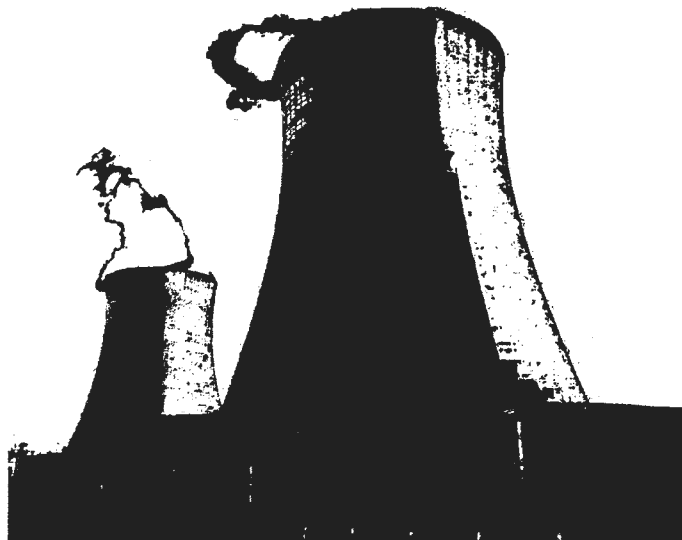
Destroying What Seeks to Destroy You: Anti-Nuclear Action in Italy

*Let us spread sabotage over the whole social territory, striking the structures that are bringing about such projects of death.
-Antinuclear revolutionaries⁴*

Also in the late 1980s there were a number of explicitly autonomous acts of sabotage taking place against the nuclear industry in Italy. These actions occurred within a larger social movement against the project of nuclear power that was underway and accelerating on the European con-

continent. The nature of these actions rejected the reformist strategies and tactics of the peace, environmental and religious movements who opposed nuclear power as an issue of protest. Unlike these groups, a critique of nuclear power and its relation to centralized political and economic power, as well as environmental destruction, was made clear and visible in actions that did not seek to merely *replace* one type of destructive process for another. Rather these autonomous actions were undertaken with the clear understanding that nuclear power is part of the larger project of capitalist domination.

In October of 1986 machinery used to construct a nuclear plant in Trino Vercellese was destroyed by demonstrators. In addition to this, acts of sabotage were occurring in various parts of the country. High-tension pylons, the metal frames that support power lines, were sawn and downed in the Cosenza province in July 1987. Then in September a pylon in the area of Pec del Brasimone was downed as well. This one had supported power lines that supplied electricity to a nuclear reactor. Then in December of 1987 a nuclear power station was blockaded in Montalto di Castro and a



research center had its gates locked shut. A leaflet was found at the site stating, "sabotage the research centres, universities, death production." Anarchists and autonomists organized anti-nuclear meetings and demonstrations in Rome, Venice, Milan and Bologna, among other cities.

Another high-tension power line was downed in Sicily that same year. A communiqué claiming responsibility for this action had this to say: "...the final course in this mad race towards perpetual enrichment and global domination, shamelessly passed off as progress, civil society, etc., is the total destruction of our planet which is now taking place. To speak, write, dance, sing, march is not enough to stop this madness and free ourselves from its ferocious oppression... We maintain: we can and we must take our fate into our own hands and organize ourselves. Sabotage. Attack. Insurge."

Attacks against power lines continued throughout the year. Many of the attacks were not only directed towards nuclear energy projects but also against energy supplied to factories. By the end of the 1980s an estimated 400 attacks against the infrastructure of the electrical system had occurred throughout Italy. These made clear the connection between nuclear energy and energy produced through other means such as coal, which also creates its own set of toxins and destructive extraction processes.

At the time it was unclear how much damage was done by some of these actions. In some cases the pylons were sawn but did not fall. Yet anarchists were clear to point out the importance not only of some certifiable amount of financial damages but additionally the *uncontrollability* of this method of autonomous action. The now-defunct Italian anarchist magazine *Provocazione* explained this point clearly: "The method of direct attack against small objectives spread over the social territory is far more effective than the great spectacular actions and demonstrations that are as spectacular as they are innocuous. The state knows very well how to manage and exploit these grand actions... What it does not know... is how to control and prevent simple direct attacks against the distribution... of structures that are responsible for projects of repression and death."

Every Worker, A Monkeywrench: The Destruction of the Machines of Production

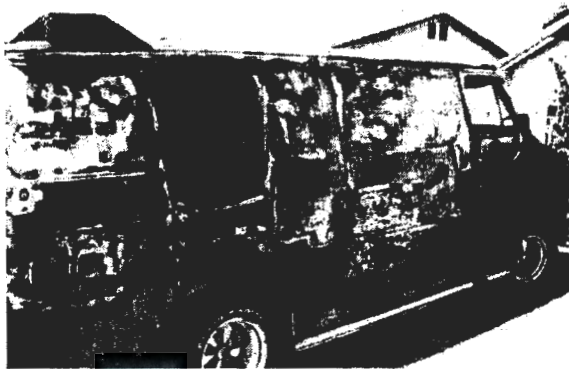
Sabotage has a long history of use in the workplace. Workplace sabotage still certainly exists today though the actual frequency of these acts is suppressed to avoid encouragement on a wider scale. Still, it has had many applications within workers' struggle when the realization of union-capitalist collaboration and the ineffectuality of official strikes have been made. Its ease of use has made it a popular form of response to the degradation of bosses, unions, wages, and routines.

In March of 1990, 6,300 bus drivers and an estimated 3,000 other Greyhound workers went on strike in what would become the second largest and most violent strike in the company's history. The dispute took place between Greyhound Lines Inc., the largest North American privately-run bus line, and the Amalgamated Council of Greyhound Local Unions, over wages, job security and grievance procedures. Fewer than 100 of its drivers crossed the picket lines, requiring the company to rely on scabs. Violence and sabotage erupted *immediately* despite negotiations between union representatives and Greyhound officials. Throughout the course of the strike over a hundred bomb threats were called into bus terminals, causing large disruptions. Dozens of shooting attacks were made against buses and their terminals. One striking driver was killed by a scab driver and one replacement was seriously injured. In April, 60 workers were fired by the company for sabotage and violence. This came a day after a bus terminal in Boston was set on fire. Unfortunately after three years of conflict, the strike was lost. This however does not invalidate the struggle that took place, and it still serves as an important example of the use of sabotage within a large-scale labor struggle.⁵

Towards the end of the 1990s another violent workplace conflict was underway. In July of 1999, the largely immigrant Latino workforce at Basic Vegetable Products in King City, California went on a Teamster-led strike. The strike was in response to the company imposing a wage freeze, a two-tier wage system, changes in pension plans and the slashing of health benefits. Almost immediately the strike was followed by a rash of small-scale sabotage, harassment, threats and even fire bombings that spread *beyond* the ability of the local police to contain. In early August, a

supervisor's house was firebombed, leading to the arrest of one worker who was later sentenced to three years. Later in the month a scab's car was set on fire, nearly engulfing her home in flames. Acts of sabotage also included tampering with the vehicles of replacement workers in order to cause malfunctions. By year's end some 270 acts of sabotage had been officially reported, against such targets as company buses, scab vehicles, scab homes, and the company's factory.

In October the company held a press conference



One scab had their van set on fire during the Basic Vegetable strike

requesting strike intervention by the governor and the state attorney general. At the press conference a spokesman for the company displayed photographs of smashed windows, slashed car tires and homemade spike strips used against scab workers. King City Police Chief Richard Metcalf conceded there had been "a huge increase in reported vandalism... This is not uncommon during labor disputes, in my experience." Two months later, the police chief told a newspaper, "[y]ou can double the amount of officers on the street and it would still be pretty hard to catch them." Efforts to stem the force of the workers' struggle were to no avail, and they won after two-years of striking and sabotage. While we are quite conscious of the limits of workplace victories, and *ultimately* seek the destruction of work itself, it is important to see that autonomous direct action can develop outside of the control of unions and extend beyond the confines of the workplace.⁶

More recently, in the summer of 2005, negotiations broke down between the Canadian telecommunication giant, Telus, and the Telecommunication Workers Union (TWU). The dispute affected the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia,

but the most radical activity was centered in B.C. Within days of the strike being called, multiple acts of sabotage occurred and a representative for the company stated in an August 2005 interview that the company had suffered 42 attacks in the three previous months. In many cases phone lines were either damaged or pulled down and fiber-optic cables were repeatedly cut, shutting down phone and internet service to thousands. These acts were a compliment to flying pickets and clashes with scabs. It is also interesting to note that anarchists in Vancouver were involved in solidarity pickets, attempting to halt public transportation from city bus depots in hopes of disrupting the economic functioning of the city.⁷

These examples are but a small sampling of the use of workplace sabotage. Yet they point to the widespread use of direct action outside of legal channels. Their effects cannot be understated. Capitalists would prefer dialogue and compromise but autonomous action makes these forms of cooptation ineffectual.

Revolutionary Solidarity

We think of solidarity as a way of being accomplices, of taking reciprocal pleasure and in no way consider it a duty, a sacrifice for the "good and sacred cause," because it is our own cause, i.e. ourselves. Revolutionary solidarity...should be demonstrated incessantly, precisely because it contributes to widening what we are already doing. -Pierleone Poreu

With the constant changes and maneuvers of the capitalist system also arise the dispersion of social struggle worldwide. The same system that has forced us to sell ourselves to survive also bars those who are deemed unnecessary from looking for an exit from the warfare of states and the starvation of the capitalist periphery.

We all want the same thing: to decide for ourselves how we will *live*. Autonomous struggle for this very thing has presented itself wherever people refuse to succumb to the inertness of passivity. This is the struggle we share.

But how can we make the similarities between our struggles spread? By recognizing our struggle in the struggle of others and *acting* upon it through revolutionary solidarity. The same companies that

are exploiting the rainforests of West Papua or the Pampas of Chile have their homes in the dominant capitalist countries of the North. The wars fought in Iraq and Afghanistan are fought with the weapons and personnel of the U.S., Europe and collaborating nation-states. The prisons and detention centers that lock away those who refuse the system of exclusion and exploitation are the same that function safely in our backyards. There are some notable examples of this practice of solidarity that deserve a closer look.

They Cannot Take What Is Not Given: Oka and the Spreading of Defiance

If there is an attack against the Mohawks, it would be considered an attack on all of us...There's hydro-electric lines crossing most of our communities... There are major highway arteries...major water supplies... -Peguis chief Louis Stevenson⁸

In March of 1990 in Oka, Canada, Kanehsatake Mohawks began a blockade of a road leading to a pine forest scheduled for clear-cutting. This piece of land, considered to be Mohawk land by treaty, was planned for use as an expansion of a bordering golf course. Four months later, in July, over 100 of Quebec's provincial police attacked the blockade with tear gas, concussion grenades and thousands of rounds of live ammunition. An officer was killed during the confrontation. The attack was considered a failure when the police were forced to retreat as tear gas blew back at them with the wind, causing them to leave several vehicles behind. These were later smashed up and used to reinforce the blockade. Then the area was sealed off with hundreds of policemen.

Still, news of the raid at Oka reached the Kahnawake, a Mohawk tribe located south of Montreal, who then proceeded to block the Mercier Bridge that served as a main artery from Montreal to the south shore. Armed Mohawks threatened to blow up the bridge if a second attack occurred, and they also blocked two other highways that ran through their territory. The occupation of the bridge continued throughout the summer and received demonstrations of solidarity in Montreal.

After careful planning by the Canadian government, a massive military operation was deployed against the Kanehsatake and Kahnawake blockades in August. It involved the use of 4,400 sol-

diers, mortars, several hundred armored personnel carriers, armored cars, missile launchers, helicopters, and three tanks. Over the course of the month there was a tense standoff between Mohawks and the repressive forces of the government.

The repression set into motion a wave of solidarity actions cross Canada. Demonstrations of support occurred on Native lands and in every major city. Occupations took place in government offices. Sabotage was made at various points of the capitalist infrastructure. On August 18, a Ca-



*"Freedom for the Prisoners
End the Persecution in Barcelona"
-Buenos Aires, Argentina (Feb. '06)*

nadian National (CN) rail-bridge was set on fire. Then on September 4, five hydroelectric towers were toppled and a CN railway-bridge was destroyed by fire, near London, Ontario. The vulnerability of these structures was made readily apparent through these actions. The repression of the Mohawk blockades had brought costly acts of solidarity among many people in many places removed from the focal point of struggle.

Though the discernable point of contention was the expansion of one development, the police operation was targeting a much greater threat. Mohawk communities are known by the Canadian government for their defiant autonomy and self-management. Their struggle spread outward as others recognized themselves in it. Acts of sabotage provided a damaging and essential tactic in this larger struggle of solidarity, proving to the state that its actions would not go unchallenged.

**Setting Fire to Surrender:
Anarchist Solidarity in Europe**

Long enough has the charity of those who have everything to lose destroyed our dignity and militancy. Our struggle without compromise for freedom is taking place - not only here, but in the whole of Europe and the whole world.

**NO BORDERS, NO NATIONS;
STOP DEPORTATIONS**

**LOVE AND STRENGTH FOR ALL PERSECUTED
PEOPLE, FUGITIVES AND REBELS**
-from a leaflet distributed in Belgium⁹

Acts of sabotage as revolutionary solidarity have had extensive usage over the course of the past few years in Europe. Following police raids carried out across Italy in May 2005 dozens of anarchists were imprisoned and accused of "subversive association."¹⁰ Anarchists in Barcelona, Spain, demonstrated in solidarity with their Italian comrades in June. They were attacked by riot police who then made seven arrests. As a response, 60 anarchists in Greece occupied a Spanish cultural institute in Athens. Just the day before 80 anarchists held a demonstration at the

Spanish embassy in solidarity with the prisoners in Spain and Italy. Yet acts of solidarity, went *beyond* these defiant demonstrations.

On December 16, of that same year, 15 cars were burned at three FIAT (Italian car company) dealerships in Athens and two bombs went off outside bank offices in the northern city of Salonika. On December 31, an explosive device blew up in the sales lot of a FIAT car dealership in Grenada, Spain. The attack was undertaken in solidarity with Italian comrades being prosecuted in the "Operation Cervantes" case.¹¹ The communique for the action also claimed solidarity with anarchist prisoners in Spain, Greece and Germany.

Then on January 3, 2006, three makeshift bombs went off in Athens. The first bomb had been placed under a car that had diplomatic plates. Another bomb detonated at the entrance of the ruling party's, New Democracy, offices. In the meantime, fire was set to the car of the mayor of Therissos, and also to his wife. The attacks were claimed by the group "Antikratiki Dikeosini" (Anti-State Justice) and made in support of anarchists held in prison. The actions of solidarity continue in Europe as



more and more anarchists are facing an increase in state repression. Solidarity of this type circulates struggles and finds meaning in common enemies. There are those of us who are confined to the logic of survival but who hate our slavery and wish to attack it. It is from the understanding of the relationship between our own struggle *and* the struggle of others that related struggles can emerge. The embrace of attack is the refusal of surrender.

To Strike Without Waiting

While the majority of the examples above are tied to larger situations of struggle, this does not mean that single actions outside of collective struggle are worthless. On the contrary, these isolated actions demonstrate not only a willingness to act, but also a willingness to attack capitalist projects *regardless* of popular support or of the presence of a larger struggle. Thus we must make a point to separate ourselves from those who counsel waiting or who claim that actions are only valid within "mass struggle."

In many cases mass struggles do not exist against capitalist projects. This lack however does not preclude action being taken by individuals or small groups. We are not slaves to a quantitative logic. If we waited for permission to act, we would be resigning ourselves to waiting *forever*. Fortunately however, many individuals, those with consciously revolutionary ideas and those without, reject the assertion that actions must be justified by their inclusion in something larger. One need only open the newspaper to read reports of dispersed acts of sabotage against a wide variety of targets: suburban sprawl, luxury condominiums, banks, chain stores, fur stores, fast food restaurants, etc. Acts of hatred against the projects of domination and exploitation deserve no respite. Their execution needs no delay.

Likewise, we must differentiate ourselves from those who support vanguardism and specialization in struggle. All too often radicals fall into the fetishization of armed struggle and the uncritical support of armed groups such as the Weather Underground, Red Army Faction, Black Liberation Army, Red Brigades and many others. This strategy is problematic from an anarchist perspective.

Fear at the Point of Departure: Some Points of Critique

Sabotage is generally carried out with a certain amount of security precautions. It is often done individually or in small groups of people who share affinity or friendship and who are trusted not to discuss the action outside of the group or to confess if caught. Care is taken not to leave any evidence behind and to keep the planning of the action secret. However beyond these practical concerns some see the need for going underground and creating a specialized role for themselves.

The concept of underground living, maintaining no public ties to radical groups, changing one's identity, blending in as "normal" and living in hiding is antithetical to an *expansive* life of relations decided on one's own terms. To live life in the underground is to sacrifice potential relationships and projects under the pretext of avoiding suspicion or discovery by the state's agents. On the other hand some argue that radical direct action is best carried out if one has no ties to any of the networks from which the state can fish for suspects. However, an ability to form relations is hindered by avoiding those relations that are deemed "unsafe." Thus, it cuts individuals off from potential comrades and leaves them only with members of their organization, imposing unhealthy social isolation. All of this poses the very real problem of a lack of networks of support needed in case of arrest.

Another problematic tendency includes vanguardism. A critique of vanguardism is inherent within anarchist ideas. False is the idea that some group of people are more skilled or adept at leading the rest of us towards something better or creating a revolutionary situation by themselves. A revolution can only happen with widespread participation, individually and collectively, towards a transformation of social relations. Delegation to anyone else will only lead to their ends, not our own. Revolt *must* be socially autonomous and self-organized for the process and result to manifest individual and collective desire.

Lastly, specialization and the spectacularization of struggle deserve their own critique. Much like vanguardism, specialization imposes specific roles on people. Participation in certain activities is elevated above and away from generalized use. In this way it is confined to particular individuals or groups.

This exclusion is contrary to the spreading of a social rebellion. On the other hand, the spectacular nature of the actions of many armed groups can also be detrimental to the widening of social struggle. Actions that are deliberately spectacular generally aim for high-profile news coverage and attacks on purely symbolic targets with a tendency to emphasize technically complex methods.

Sabotage as Social War

Sabotage is but *one* tactic from an array of tools employed within the social war. Its use alone cannot substitute for the destruction of the very relations that define our capitalist system.

The destruction of the infrastructure of the state and the functioning of capitalism can be crippling. But it can only cripple as much as it can spread through its ease of use. A rupture with the present will be as inclusive of sabotage as it will be of creating relations beyond the narrow and numbing confines of the social order.

Sabotage will take many forms but it must always be done so with the intent of expanding our revolt globally. Solidarity with the struggles of others will then become little more than an after thought. Through the process of experimentation in strategy and the initiative of attack, the sharpening of our struggle will become realized, always moving forward and outward. Revolution will not be the certainty of a future world but the certainty of ourselves attacking the world that has been imposed upon us.

Sabotage must go *beyond* the limits of mere economic attrition. Militaristic formations, along with their style of centralized formal structure are of no use to us. Organizations for armed struggle and clandestine vanguards will not bring us closer to generalized insurrection, as examples of the past have shown. Guerrilla wars of attrition will only be a losing fight against states much better equipped technologically and numerically within the logic of standard warfare. Our warfare must be *social*.

Social war will put arms in the hands of generalized rebellion. Sabotage will be made at the points of departure towards that place.

Kasimere Bran

Notes

1. Technology is not neutral. It's a goddamn motherfucker.
2. "Sabotage Against Shell," *Insurrection* #5, Autumn 1988.
3. "The Rural Energy War—Report from The Front Lines." *The Nation*. December 26, 1981.
4. "Anti-Nuclear Sabotage in Italy," *Insurrection* # 4, May 1988.
5. "Business Brief -- GLI Holding Co.: Sixty Fired by Greyhound for Strike-Related Violence." *Wall Street Journal*. April 6, 1990.
6. "From Vandalism to Firebombing at Basic Vegetable." *Union Violence Lookout*. Vol.I, Issue 10. November 1999.
7. "Cut Phone Lines 'Obvious Vandalism,' Telus Says." *Vancouver Sun*. August 16, 2005.
8. "Oka, 1990." *Only a Beginning, An Anarchist Anthology*. Ed. Alan Antliff.
9. From a leaflet made in solidarity with prisoners in Lecce, Italy.
10. Arrests were made throughout Italy beginning in Lecce on May 12, in Sardinia on May 19, and in Bologna and Rome on May 26.
11. For more info see "State Repression Against Anarchists in Italy." *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* #60. Fall/Winter 2005/2006.

REPRESSION UPDATE

SHAC 7 Found Guilty

On March 2, 2006 a jury found Jacob Conroy, Darius Fullmer, Lauren Gazzola, Joshua Harper, Kevin Kjonaas and Andrew Stepanian guilty of animal enterprise terrorism, stalking and other charges. The SHAC 7 are alleged to have operated a web site that reported on and expressed support for protest activity against Huntingdon Life Sciences and its business affiliates by Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC). Their sentencing hearing is on June 6. For more information see: www.shac7.com

Rod Coronado Arrested

Rod Coronado was arrested on February 22, 2006 for a speech he gave in San Diego in 2003. The government alleges that during his speech he "demonstrated the use of a destructive device" intended to be used for arson. He was granted bail on March 3, and is awaiting his trial. See: www.supportrod.org

STOP THAT TRAIN

A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE TAV



In the fall of 2005, the struggle against the High-Velocity Train (TAV) in Valsusa, Italy once again made international headlines. With the Winter Olympics slated for February 2006 in Turin, many politicians were afraid that the advertising event of the season would be marred by social conflict. What lies behind the news coverage is in fact a decade-long fight against the construction of a major rail line that has involved strikes, mass mobilization and dozens of acts of sabotage on the part of people inhabiting the Alpine valley in the northwest of Italy. We are hoping to familiarize English speakers with these events not only because they are inspiring, but also because they point to concrete possibilities of attacking one facet of capitalism: industrial development.

The construction of TAV lines in Europe sprang from continent-wide agreements between Western European nations in the mid-1980s through the early 1990s. These states were seeking solutions to businesses' needs to more quickly move human and non-human commodities across the landscape. Thus the lines would be the physical manifestation of the integration of the economies of the European Economic Community, which later became the European Union (EU). TAV lines presently exist in France, Spain, and Italy, connecting various population/economic centers. The two strongest movements against the spread of these capillaries of profit are in the Basque territory of Spain and in the aforementioned Valsusa. But the question remains: why oppose these rail lines? After all, aren't trains less harmful to the environment than airplanes and automobiles?

From a purely ecological standpoint, the construction of the TAV in Valsusa is part of the continuation of the overall disaster of industrialism. The tunnels necessary to the Lyon-Turin leg of the TAV will be dug out of mountains known for having a high content of asbestos and uranium. Millions of tons would be excavated and then removed from the valley by thousands of dump trucks passing through the towns and villages. Residents of the valley, who are already subject to the pollution of preexisting industries there, would now be subject to some of the most carcinogenic substances known to man. The mountains themselves will be excavated, defaced and degraded, along with the destruction of much of the local plant and wildlife.

However, reducing an infrastructure project to a purely ecological issue avoids placing it in its proper context. The TAV lines are not just "bad plans" that need to be corrected or modified; they are deliberate plans that serve the interests of those who control this world. In the 19th century, the construction of railroads in the United States and Britain was an integral part of industrial capitalism because it allowed for quicker transport of raw materials to centers of production and for shipment of finished products to distant markets. Rail lines were the infrastructure that helped export coal, iron ore, silver and lumber out of certain areas, and helped import troops and settlers to dispossess native peoples. Thus they were at once the manifestation of industrial capitalism and a means to its expansion.

The TAV represents the needs of capital in a new era. France, Spain, and Italy, at the behest of the EU, are attempting to create an integrated high-speed train system that links business centers across the continent. It is also conceived of in terms of the creation of mega-cities across the continent akin to the Japanese model of urbanization. Thus the golden future of plenty falls on its face to be drowned in the mud of reality. And it is this reality that many in the Valsusa have fought so fiercely against.

IMPRESSIONS FROM THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE TAV



The article that follows is not intended to be a chronology, which would be impossible to update due to the continuous development of the situation, but a stream of impressions concerning a topic of great relevance: the project of the Turin-Lyons high speed railway line, and above all, the opposition against its realization is extending itself from Valsusa to almost everywhere.

Everyone is talking about it, and there is a great succession of serious discussions, chatter, declarations of local and national politicians, and of newspapers and television news. And yet, up until a couple of months ago, politicians and news media did fuck all, because this matter, and particularly the popular unrest that accompanied it, passed in silence. From what is so much clamor now born?

From one day, or better yet, the events that marked it from the eve to the following evening: October 31, 2005. That day, on the mountain overlooking the village of Mompantero, an imposing contingent of the forces of order were supposed to accompany the technicians of the Lyon-Turin Railway company (LTF), so-called contractors, to take possession of some plots of land in order to take ultrasound readings with drills, of the geological composition of the terrain of interest in the plans of the new railway line.

For the first time in the confrontation between uniforms and opponents of the TAV, physical contact was added, and throughout the day, the occupation troops tried in vain to force their way through human blockades and the numerous barricades that hundreds of valley people and individuals in solidarity from many other regions used to prevent the police access to the sites designated for the ultrasound readings.

After a night spent in shifts on the look-out in order to spot the arrival of the armored vehicles from the valley, and in preparation for the inevitable resistance that we would have to sustain, news arrived at dawn that the Urbiano area had been occupied by the forces of order and that the uniforms had already used strong-arm tactics against demonstrators in order to clear off the road that heads toward the mountain.

Several people had already reached the area of the surveying, which was upstream, and on the necessary crossroads for reaching the sites we would confront the first attempts to force through our blockades. A human wall, without using other defensive tools, is chosen at the very last minute from among the various possibilities for resisting the thrusts, shields, and

occasional punches and kicks with which the troops in anti-riot formation would use. In that moment, I don't believe that we were more than about fifty people, between the valley residents, the "strangers," and local authorities with the tricolor sashes. However, the forces of order nonetheless determined that there were too many of us to force back on that small mountain road, which was at the peak over the escarpment, thus preventing more energetic maneuvers on the enemy's part.

It seemed to me as if time had expanded... I'm not able to say if it was a matter of minutes or hours, but there was a moment in which, crushed in that crowd, I turned to look behind me and I realized that there were no longer those few people from the first light of the dawn. Hundreds of people arrived in small groups from the forests, a human river that would continue throughout the day, adding to the blockade organized at the mountain of the Seghino bridge. They moved to reach other paths on which the advance of other contingents of uniforms could be halted, and there, erected new barricades even more substantial than those we had built in the night.

In the meantime, news spread of striking factories, road and railroad blockades at various points in the valley, and mobilizations in solidarity that were growing outside of Valsusa. The uniforms in front of us, worn out by a terrain much more hostile than city streets and plazas, were prevented from pushing us because of the risk of falling off of the cliff into the rushing stream below.

At sunset, assured by several voices – among them particularly that of the president of the low valley mountain community, Antonio Ferrentino– that technicians and the forces of order would no longer be able to take possession of the terrain that day, we went down to the valley, parading among a festive and grateful population. In reality, a few hours later, the forces of order would go up to occupy the sites, awaiting the LTF technicians, bypassing every formality of the law.

Precisely since that day, the struggle against the high-speed train in Valsusa has become "worthy of news coverage" as had never happened before. I consider it right, however, to take a few steps back in order to understand the roots of such a heartfelt and determined opposition (that certainly did not originate on the day that the press so copiously gave it prominence) and to advance a few considerations of its development in these years. I go back then with memories of the early years of the 1990s, when little or nothing was said about the havoc the TAV would cause, and in Valsusa, the struggle against this project was still not a popular struggle with wide participation. In those years, the earliest warnings about the impact it would have on territories and populations arrived from other regions over which the threat of the "train of the future" loomed, particularly from the Tuscan Mugello region. However, in Val di Susa, mainly environmentalists and representatives of the mountain Community Bassa Valle concerned themselves with the question. They tried to gather information. The plan for the new line was not yet so precisely delineated. Some local authorities, not so many as now, consulted technicians and experts, and tried to sensitize public opinion on the topic.

At the time, few said "No TAV." The discussion was rather mainly "How TAV?" Those that supported this position argued that, since it has to pass through here, let's at least see to reducing the health risks for the population and limiting environmental damages in a valley that is already heavily tormented by two state highways with a lot of traffic, an international expressway, a gigantic long-distance power line, and many polluting factories. Then

they hoped that, with so many construction sites, at least a few job prospects would open up, and that an adequate economic compensation would be seen for it passing through our land.

And while the local institutions sought reassurance from the commissions of technicians and from more highly placed politicians, the population participated rather tepidly in the debate, perhaps expecting events to be resolved by its administrators, perhaps with a hint of resignation, since some years earlier, despite protests and mobilizations, the expressway was still built. Or so it seemed to me from the meetings in which I participated in the Valley in those years.

On the other hand, little by little, concerns about the real capacity for the devastation of the TAV were spreading, and people started to realize that the promoters and builders of the new line were not taking the needs of the valley into consideration. Discontent spread among the people, and a feeling of distrust in the face of the operation began to expand more and more.

With the installation of the first ultrasound drills to get the lay of the land in the summer of 1996, a long series of acts of sabotage and attacks with fire and explosives also began. Aside from causing notable economic damage to the contracting enterprises, for the first time, official information sources were compelled to spread to the four winds the fact that the high-speed train was not viewed positively in Val di Susa. And however much the local institutions themselves strove to condemn these actions and to invite the police and judicial organs "to turn their attention most quickly to those responsible," there were not then so many expressions of disagreement with regard to the acts of sabotage from the population, as shown by the extremely slim participation in the demonstration organized on November 29, 1997, in Bussoleno, by parties, unions, and ecclesiastical authorities protesting against the attacks.

And I intend to linger here for a moment because that period of sabotage about which, in the heat of the moment, the people of Valsusa had very little to criticize. With the passing of years and the consolidation of a more complete, active involvement of the population in the mobilization against the high speed train, that time was transformed into the "dark period," the period in which, every sort of shady character was supposed to be circulating throughout those areas, from agents of the secret services to emissaries of Mafioso lobbies interested in paving over the valley. Everyone was active in the valley, except people who might have decided to take the path of deeds because they were fed up with being taken for a ride and seeing one valley after another devastated. This presented a clear break, in short, with a practice –that of sabotage and destruction– that has always been part of people's struggles in every part of the planet.

When later, three anarchists were charged with these attacks, and two of them, Edoardo "Baleno" Massari and Soledad Rosas, lost their lives while in prison, the question of sabotage gained relevance in the valley –it was presented as solely being the property of anarchists, the usual bombers. Many did not notice that these arrests were a clear warning, sent by the TAV bosses, their judges, and their uniformed protectors, to all who opposed the high speed train: "don't give us trouble, otherwise you will pay dearly!"

Perhaps, in order to make this interpretation more concrete, it might be useful to remember, especially for anyone who still has so much faith in legality and in state justice, that in the end, the charges that claimed that the three anarchists were associated with the name "Lupi Grigi" [Grey Wolves], which claimed some

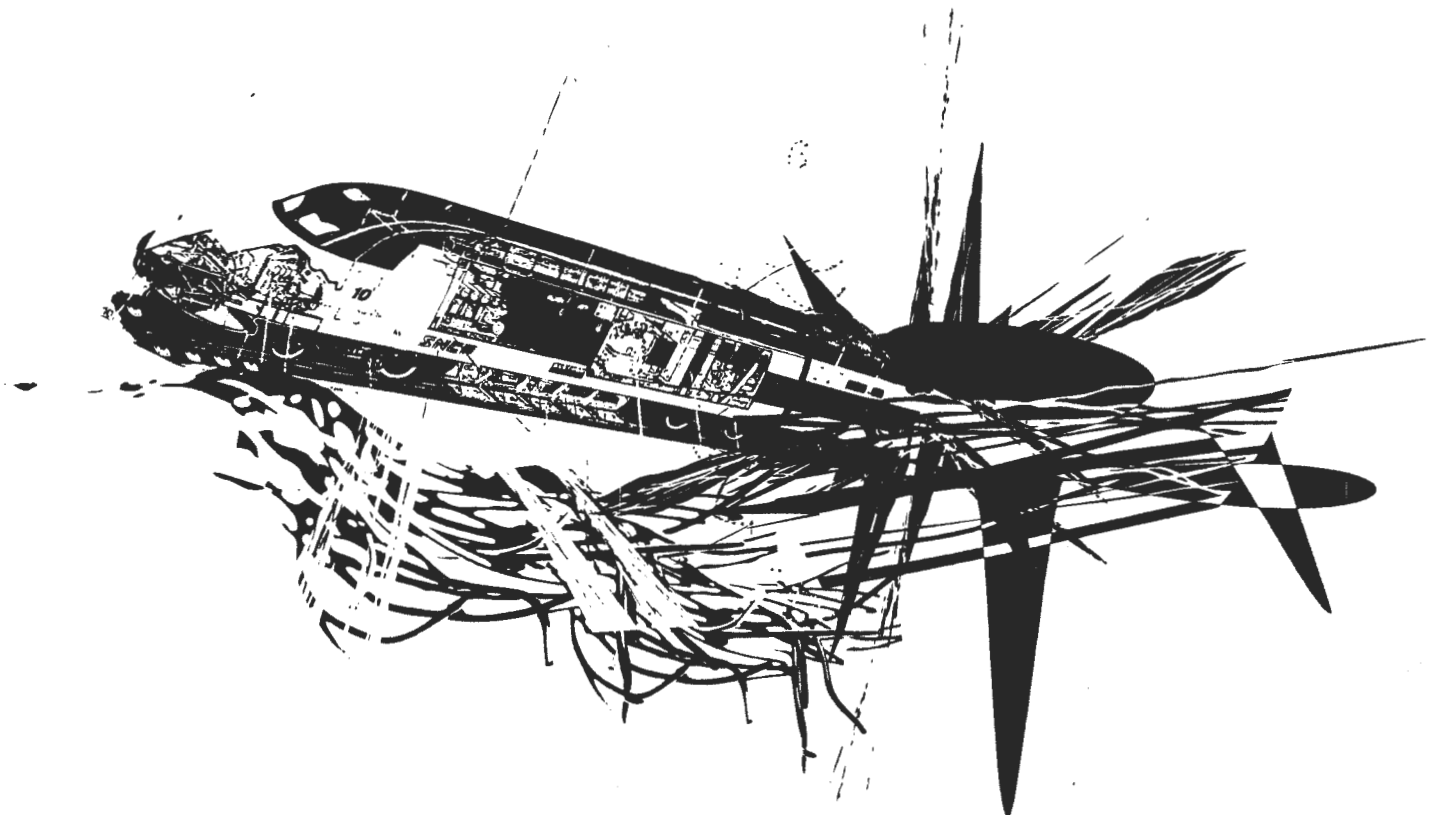
of the attacks in Valsusa, collapsed in court. The only survivor among the three was sentenced, primarily to justify his long pre-trial confinement, exclusively for theft and the firebombing of the city hall of Caprie. This means only one thing: Baleno and Soledad are dead, and Silvano suffered a long imprisonment due to the strategy by which the state tried to tame opposition against the TAV. It would be good, as we have reasserted over the years, if the population of Valsusa were to always remember this as an integral part of their struggle.

"Where were you fifteen years ago... who called you? Go back to where you came from!" In a tone that is certainly not very peaceful, the pleasant lady reproaches a young girl who is confirming her motivations and her determination to oppose the uniforms and the technicians seeking to break through the barricades in order to enter the terrain. We are at Venaus on the morning of November 30, 2005. On this day, in order to open the construction sites for the 50 km mega-tunnel, the occupation troops had to first smoothe out the road for the TAV technicians. In the meantime, since the battle of Seghino, there had been weeks of uninterrupted mobilization: road, expressway, and railway blockades, demonstrations (the most participants being 80,000 people from Bussoleno to Susa), and strikes. And also a fake bomb and some bellicose flyers on which invectives taking distance were wasted.

The lady yelled about the presence of stones and clubs for defending oneself against the police, while the young girl, who had been up all night with many others to block possible raids by the occupation troops, shows her that she has no club in her hands and no stones in her pockets. At my side, another young person, a boy, is explaining to a lady that there is no reason to direct the video camera at the faces of those who, like him, compose the human blockade opposing the enemy's advance. Because certain footage, falling into the wrong hands, provides dangerous data that could violate the freedom of those who oppose the disasters of this society. "It is for taping those who are violent...so that it will be seen that we are not provoking anyone," the impromptu video reporter answers. Meanwhile, the TAV technicians pull down ski masks so that they will not later be recognized when they go to the market, and the uniforms study from which side it is possible to bypass the barricades in order to be able to charge the blockade.

They are few, but they are there, those who have listened to the admonitions of government ministers, police officials, and the always acquiescent organs of information to isolate "anyone who comes from outside." These barbarian hordes, thirsty for blood (the name that they are given will change according to the "emergencies" of the moment), are always ready to swoop down on every conflict and situation of tension.

But once again, the enemies will not manage to get by and will maintain their position for days, at the desolate site, waiting for the propitious occasion to break through, while many, many people take turns through days and nights in keeping watch over the contested terrain.



Danger comes from outside. It is always easy for power to spread division and suspicion in order to better repress. As if opposing the disasters perpetrated against nature and human beings was something of concern only to those it directly weighs upon. Why therefore become angry about the cutting down of the Amazon rainforest, why protest if there is a war of occupation exterminating entire populations in a particular country?

People often make the effort to understand it, but those they should fear, those they should isolate and fight, are those that want to impose dire choices for the future of their lives, not those that hurry in solidarity to a place where a struggle is taking shape and give energy and determination to it. But, to clarify this, it is best to take a few steps back once again.

After the period of sabotage, a very interesting experience of popular self-organization took shape: local committees that, outside of parties and ideological frameworks, managed to focus the involvement of many people who recognized the disaster and the need for struggle against the high speed train. These were years in which the committees organized countless occasions for spreading information and discussion about the TAV question, in which their presence was noted on many occasions of popular mobilization: from general strikes to the G8 meeting in Genoa. These years included successful local (with up to 30,000 participants last June) and regional demonstrations against international summits and other situations in which the high-speed train was talked about. Last spring it reached the point of ongoing barricades that revealed a marvelous experience of communitarian sociality. All of these were occasions in which groups and persons in solidarity with their struggle stood side by the side with the Valsusans. And there have been many other moments for expressing opposition to the TAV, whether the people of Valsusa were there or not. And then, why now should anyone feel it their duty to decide if the "outsiders" have a right or not to stand with those who struggle against the TAV?

"Wait another moment. We must all be there and then invade the terrain." Another time in Venaus, after the blitz with which the state finally removed the mask on the method it uses to convince people not to oppose its projects, a method many had already learned about on other occasions. It is December 8, 2005. There are many of us who want to retake what the police brutally snatched from the Valsusans. We descended upon the occupied sites from all possible paths and roads, and after an attempt to break through to the crossroads of Passeggeri. We prepared to snatch back the terrain conquered by the police to the sound of bulldozers and truncheon blows.

Since the night of the police blitz against the defenders of Venaus, other actions by the movement against the TAV have marked the days: roads and railways are still blocked, and demonstrations nearly everywhere have shown that Valsusa is not alone in its struggle.

And for now, a single image remains with me: people advancing in attack against the uniforms who are forced to shoot teargas in order not to be swept away. People whose faces were covered or uncovered, anyone who threw rocks or who ran with empty hands, anyone who kept going with whatever they had, were all against the instruments, campers, and bulldozers of the occupying forces. For once, there were truly few that had any criticisms.

The game is not over, not at all. In other lands as well, from the Basque Pyrenees to Catalonia, and as far as Slovenia, there are populations expressing a strong opposition to the passage of the European high-speed train. The popular self-organization in Valsusa was able to truly involve the people, outside of party organizations and beyond regionalism and ideology. This could be an example to follow since new opposition is developing against the projects of a "progress" that grinds up territories and communities. Our mountain is proof that it is still possible to decide our future, if the population is devoted to doing so.

Guido Mantelli

Free Alps - Gesso Valley (Cuneo area, West Alps)

From Nunatak #1, Winter 2005

Translated from Italian by Wolfi Landstreicher

Why I-69

The road to the future leads us smack into the wall.

-Jacques Cousteau

While the wildcat strikes against automation are an example of resistance to the large-scale implementation of new technology, there are other important battles against progress such as resistance to development projects. Like technology, development is usually presented in an abstract, ahistorical way—something that just happens, or that is natural. However, both are products of capitalism and serve to further and strengthen its hold over the world. While they are presented as projects that help everyone, this is simply not the case. Highways, suburbs, and other development projects would never have been built without capitalist social forces and reflect solely the needs of capital. One recent struggle against development is the fight against the extension of Interstate 69 (I-69) in southwestern Indiana.

I-69 is a multi-lane highway that currently connects Indianapolis, Indiana to Port Huron, Michigan. The I-69 extension, officially sanctioned by the federal government in 1998, is designed to connect Canada and Mexico via the United States. The project was conceived of as a trade corridor linking the three nation-states involved in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and was dubbed by media outlets as the "NAFTA Superhighway." It is to link with preexisting corridors, and the planned route now involves multiple interstate corridors running through Indiana, Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, and Tennessee. In January 2003, state officials in Indiana finally set down their plan for the I-69 extension to run from Indianapolis, through Bloomington and down to Evansville.

I-69, however, is not some aberration in the history of highway and infrastructure design, nor is it the so-called abuse of "public" infrastructure by "private" interests. The first major infrastructure project in the history of the United States, part of "the American System" plan of 1816, was a bid to improve the nation's transportation framework to strengthen the position of American manufacturers in the global market. The construction of the Erie Canal, designed to connect the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean, and the Cumberland Road, which connected the Midwest to the East Coast, were a result of this project. Similarly, the construction of the interstate highway system in the US in the early 1950s was part of the auto industry's expansion plan, as well as a national defense initiative during the Cold War. Thus, I-69 is certainly a project that carries on the legacy of its predecessors; infrastructure projects are a manifestation of capitalist social relations and a means for their expansion.

Resistance to major highway projects is also not a new phenomenon. The 1990s saw a variety of actions against the construction of highways across England. Efforts varied from citizen participation and counter-planning, to radical actions such as occupations, sabotage, and open destruction of property.¹² In much the same way, the fight in Indiana has been multi-faceted. The first oppositional activity against I-69 came about in the late 1990s by environmentalists in the Bloomington area. They, along with many small farmers, denounced the project for breaking up rural ways of life, spreading sprawl, and for the simple fact that new construction would require the expropriation of land as well as the destruction of multiple forests. Unfortunately, I-69 opponents developed a counter proposal to reroute the highway outside of their region, rather than opposing it outright.

Since the project was merely in the preliminary stages, activity against it lulled. In 2002 though, when the state of Indiana was deciding which route to pick for I-69, opponents participated in state-sponsored public forums, sent letters to their representatives, and on one occasion presented over 125,000 signatures against the planned route to the governor's office. Once the official route was picked in January 2003, there was further letter writing, an Earth First! banner-that-failed-to-even-unravel drop, and in late 2004, members of environmental and citizen's groups gave the new governor anti-I-69 literature in hopes that he would consider their alternative plan. Hilarious.

All of these tactics read straight from the citizen activist's handbook; it could be any issue, and the list of activities would read the same: letter writing, petitioning, symbolic protests, dialogue with state officials, and of course the mandatory whining, begging, and groveling. These types of tactics, promoted by the state, capitalists, and various micro-politicians, serve to undermine social conflict, to transform it into an easily manageable situation where "the people" work together with "their representatives" to come to an agreement. After all, we're all on the same team.¹³

In addition, this model presents further problems. Without going into a lengthy critique of activism, it suffices to say that activism is a historical social-construct, meaning that like everything else in this world, it is a product of a particular time period and of particular social relations. Housewives, police, and activists are all social categories that serve particular roles in this society. Activists fulfill the role of specialists in social change who intervene in conflicts in order to act as representatives of the people involved and as those who also represent the conflict to the media. It is not a matter of ill intentions, but rather a matter of social roles. Activists are politicians, albeit on a smaller scale.

Therefore as specialists in the field of social change, it should be no surprise that activists further specialize in a particular niche, in the same way an academic carves out some obscure area of study in order to make his or herself more valuable. Rather than attacking the social order, activism is a practice that focuses on "solving" various problems and issues that have their roots in the same system that activists work within. Whatever conflict they are involved in, they in turn reduce them to preordained categories that fit perfectly within a framework that is easily digestible for the media and easily defused by the state. Thus in the fight against I-69, various groups were formed to oppose only parts of the plan: its effects on the environment, the "unwise" and "inefficient" use of taxpayer money, its effects on rural residents and so on. These ignore the fundamental causes and overall role of the I-69 extension and play into the hands of politicians who can cater to these partial critiques. They took a diverse area of social conflict and fragmented it into many issues in order to effectively manage the situation. Activists speak the language of the system - not the language of its destruction—because they are the left wing of that system. Despite the dead-end, reformist nature of the activism against I-69, it did link diverse groups of people who opposed the project, but the way in which they were linked was quite sad.

In the spring of 2005, anarchists and activists in Indiana began organizing the Roadless Summer campaign to fight against the planned international corridor. Those engaged in the Roadless Summer campaign critiqued the construction of I-69 because of the heavy ecological devastation it would cause due to the conversion of fields and forests into dead zones of pavement. In addition, the project was opposed because I-69 is intended as a trade corridor connecting Canada and Mexico as part of

the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Therefore it is not a benign project designed to –according to the governor and other bureaucrats– improve people’s lives by making travel time quicker. Instead, I-69 is an essential part in facilitating the quicker movement of commodities across borders. Roadless Summer’s critique firmly placed the project within the larger framework of neo-liberal restructuring of capitalism and linked the environmental destruction to its root causes. They avoided compartmentalizing the struggle into various issues, and instead analyzed it in its totality.¹⁴

On the practical side, Roadless Summer used a variety of tactics. Some were interesting, such as protests at I-69 construction offices, office occupations, and harassment of various construction companies through phone calls and faxes. Others were disheartening, such as bike tours of affected areas. Some, however, tried to increase the level of conflictuality. At a small demonstration in June of 2005, dozens of people stormed the entrance of the state capitol, spray-painting the building with anti-I-69 slogans, and some banged on drums like a bunch of hippies.¹⁵ This action resulted in the arrest of over twenty people, and many anti-I-69 groups, including Roadless Summer itself, publicly distanced themselves from the lawbreakers. On another occasion, an I-69 construction office was attacked. The building was spray-painted, a window was shattered, and the attackers tried unsuccessfully to set the building on fire.

While the more radical actions did not spread, anarchist opposition to the project –armed with both a radical critique and a radical practice– pointed to the possibility for an opposition more dangerous to the capitalist system. They made an anarchist critique of the I-69 project that put into question its origins, role, and long-term effects. They attempted to pair this with a radical practice that rejected working with politicians and put emphasis on people using direct action to halt the project. In addition, reform was simply not on their agenda. They opposed the extension outright and did not try to work their way into power in order to manage the mere alteration of the project.

The plans for I-69 are still in the works, and opposition to the project has recently arisen in Texas as well. In Indiana, the state government has chosen to privatize the construction of I-69 in order to minimize its direct involvement, and it has also decided that the extension will now primarily be a toll road. Construction has begun, and one can only hope that I-69 serves as a focal point for further activity in hopes that this situation can possibly move beyond the bounds of activism and become a wider social conflict that challenges the gears of progress.





RESOURCES



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www.geocities.com/insurrectionary_anarchists

Klinamen: portal por la autogestión editorial (Spain)
www.klinamen.org

Mariposas del Caos (Argentina)
www.mariposasdelcaos.cjb.net

Prole.info: Pamphlets and Online Texts for the Angry Wage Worker
www.prole.info

Quiver Online Pamphlet Library
www.anti-politics.net/distro

Recommended Readings:

- Against the Megamachine: Essays on Empire and its Enemies by David Watson
- At Daggers Drawn With The Existent, Its Defenders, And Its False Critics by Anon. (pamphlet)
- The Bonnot Gang by Richard Parry (story of the French illegalists)
- Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation by Silvia Federici (about the origins of capitalism)
- Critical Thinking as an Anarchist Weapon by Wolfi Landstreicher et al. (pamphlet)
- Direct Action: Memoirs of an Urban Guerilla by Anne Hansen
- Dynamite: A Century of Class Violence in America 1830-1930 by Louis Adamic
- History of the Makhnovist Movement 1918-1921 by Peter Arshinov
- Killing King Abacus #1 & #2 by Sasha K., Leila T., and Wolfi L. (available online)
- The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic by Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker
- A Crime Called Freedom: The Writings of Os Cangaceiros by Os Cangaceiros
- Rebels Against the Future: The Luddites and Their War on the Industrial Revolution by Kirkpatrick Sale
- The Reproduction of Daily Life by Fredy Perlman
- Sabate: Guerilla Extraordinary by Antonio Tellez (story of a Spanish anarchist guerilla)
- Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background by Paul Avrich (US-Italian insurrectionary history)
- The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements And The Decolonization Of Everyday Life by George Katsiaficas
- The Undesirables: Class Struggle at the Turn of the 21st Century by Anon. (pamphlet)